

Message Text

PAGE 01 HONG K 02656 110253Z

71

ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /031 W

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R 110116Z MAR 74

FM AMCONSUL HONG KONG

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9889

INFO USLO PEKING

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

C O N F I D E N T I A L HONG KONG 2656

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, CH, US

SUBJECT: POSSIBLE SIGNS OF PRC DISSATISFACTION WITH POSITION
REGARDING TAIWAN

REF: A. HONG KONG 2648 B. HONG KONG 2501 C. HONG KONG 2121
OF MARCH 9, 1973

1. SUMMARY

AS CONTRASTED WITH LAST YEAR'S PROPAGANDA OUTPUT ON THE
OCCASION OF THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE FEBRUARY 28, 1947 TAIWAN
UPRISING, THIS YEAR'S OUTPUT SEEMS TO ME TO DISPLAY CONSIDERABLE
DISSATISFACTION WITH US POLICY AFFECTING TAIWAN. END
SUMMARY

2. REFTEL A, SENT OUT WHILE I WAS AWAY FROM MY DESK, SAYS THAT
"RECENT CHINESE STATEMENTS ON THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE 1947
TAIWAN UPRISING ... FAILED TO DISPLAY ANY DISSATISFACTION WITH US
POLICY IN THAT AREA" (PARA 8). I CONSIDER THIS STATEMENT
SERIOUSLY MISLEADING. A COMPARISON OF PRC FEB 28 ANNIVERSARY
OUTPUT THIS YEAR WITH THAT OF 1973 SEEMS TO ME TO DEMONSTRATE
A SIGNIFICANT SHIFT IN THE PRC ATTITUDE. IN 1973 THE PRC SEEMED TO ME

TO BE POINTING WITH PRIDE AND SATISFACTION TO THE SHANGHAI
COMMUNIQUE; THAT DOCUMENT, AND THE U.S. CHINA POLICY OF WHICH
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IT WAS AN IMPORTANT EXPRESSION, WERE CLEARLY VIEWED BY THE PRC
AS CONSISTENT WITH OPTIMISM ABOUT THE EVENTUAL REUNIFICATION
OF TAIWAN WITH THE MAINLAND. APPROVING MENTION WAS MADE
OF THE CHANGE IN U.S. POLICY TOWARD CHINA, OF THE FACT

THAT THE U.S., IN THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE, "RECOGNIZES TAIWAN AS PART OF CHINA," AND OF THE FACT THAT DR. KISSINGER HAD RECENTLY STATED THAT THE "US FAVORS THE PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF THE DISAGREEMENTS BETWEEN THE MAINLAND AND TAIWAN." NOT ONLY DID THE PRC OUTPUT IN 1973 THUS FAVORABLY TREAT THE US ATTITUDE TOWARD THE "PEACEFUL RESOLUTION" OF PEKING-TAIPEI DISAGREEMENTS, BUT IT ALSO (SIGNIFICANTLY, SO THIS POST FELT AT THE TIME) EVEN DE-EMPHASIZED THE USE OF THE TERM "LIBERATION" IN FAVOR OF THE MORE PEACEFUL-SOUNDING "UNIFICATION". AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND, THE LACK, IN 1974, OF ANY FAVORABLE MENTION OF U.S. INTENTIONS, U.S. CHINA POLICY, THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE, ETC.; THE LACK OF REITERATION THAT THE "US FAVORS PEACEFUL RESOLUTION," AND, INSTEAD, THE CONTRASTING HINTS OF THE POSSIBLE RELEVANCE OF MILITARY FORCE TO THE RECOVERY OF TAIWAN, SEEM TO ME TO SUGGEST DISSATISFACTION NOT ONLY WITH THE TAIWAN SITUATION, BUT ALSO POSSIBLY WITH U.S. POLICY AS IT PERTAINS TO THIS SITUATION.

3. MY OWN PERSONAL BACKGROUND OF ASSOCIATION WITH THE GENEVA TALKS IN THE MID-FIFTIES MAKES ME PERHAPS UNDULY SENSITIVE TO ANY SUGGESTION THAT THE PRC MIGHT BE REASSERTING THE CLAIM IT WILL NEVER OF COURSE FORMALLY ABANDON, NAMELY THE SOVEREIGN RIGHT TO USE FORCE IF NECESSARY TO LIBERATE TAIWAN. STRESS ON THIS CLAIMED SOVEREIGN RIGHT WAS A CLEARLY MARKED FEATURE OF THE MUTUAL HARDENING OF ATTITUDES AS THE RENUNCIATION OF FORCE NEGOTIATIONS WENT INTO STALEMATE IN 1956. HOWEVER, IT SEEMS TO ME THAT THE FUNDAMENTAL ASSUMPTIONS EMBODIED IN THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE ARE: THAT THE U.S. WILL NOT USE ITS POWER TO BRING ABOUT OR SUPPORT THE PERMANENT DETACHMENT OF TAIWAN FROM CHINA; AND THAT THE PRC WILL NOT USE MILITARY FORCE TO BRING ABOUT THE "REUNIFICATION" OF TAIWAN WITH THE MAINLAND. PRC INSISTENCE ON THE USE OF FORCE IN THE RECOVERY OF TAIWAN WOULD, I FEAR, PROVE AS UNSETTLING TO THE PURPOSES OF THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE AS IT DID TO THE RENUNCIATION OF FORCE IDEA.

4. I AM OF COURSE NOT REPEAT NOT SUGGESTING THAT THE PRC IN THIS YEAR'S FEBRUARY 28 ANNIVERSARY OUTPUT, REFLECTED A DEGREE OF DISSATISFACTION WITH THE TERMS OF THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE, CONFIDENTIAL

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OR A DEGREE OF INSISTENCE UPON THE RIGHT TO USE FORCE IN "LIBERATING" TAIWAN, SUCH AS WOULD CONTRADICT THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE, OR FORESHADOW A REVERSAL OF THE POLICIES OF DETENTE. FACTORS IN THE DOMESTIC POLITICAL CLIMATE IN CHINA COULD ACCOUNT FOR PART OF THE APPARENT SHIFT, AND REACTION TO SOVIET AND JAPANESE MANEUVERS COULD ALSO BE A FACTOR. HOWEVER, THE TAIWAN QUESTION IS OF SUCH IMPORTANCE IN US-PRC RELATIONS, AND THE NON-USE-OF FORCE UNDERSTANDING SEEMS TO ME SO CRUCIAL, THAT WE SHOULD BE ALERT TO ANY POSSIBLE SIGNS OF DISSATISFACTION. OSBORN

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 27 JUL 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: SLOGANS, TERRITORIAL UNIFICATION, POLICIES
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 11 MAR 1974
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: GolinoFR
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1974HONGK02656
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: 11652 GDS
Errors: n/a
Film Number: P740141-0743
From: HONG KONG
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1974/newtext/t19740382/abbrzatj.tel
Line Count: 108
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 2
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: A. HONG KONG 2648 B. HONG KONG 2501 C. HONG KONG 2121 OF MARCH 9, 1973
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: GolinoFR
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 19 JUN 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <19 JUN 2002 by kelleyw0>; APPROVED <27 JAN 2003 by GolinoFR>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: POSSIBLE SIGNS OF PRC DISSATISFACTION WITH POSITION REGARDING TAIWAN
TAGS: PFOR, CH, TW
To: STATE INFO PEKING
TAIPEI
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005